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heirs of Charlemagne. It had no meaning for Russians, who must reject any permanent agreement with the States of the Continent, and keep her hands free, paying no attention to the doctrines by which other governments are inspired.

These ideas found fuller development in the well-known speculations of the Slavophile schools on the decadence of the West. Each civilisation, said Danilevsky, slowly exhausted the sap which had nourished it. There was the time of flower and the time of fruit, and Europe had flowered two centuries ago. She had then passed her maturity, and could but degenerate—so the Russian nation had nothing to expect from her. History, added Danilevsky, showed that spiritual supremacy tends to function 'spirally'; to pass from one human group to another; China, India, Egypt, Greece . . . Europe's mission was completed, he concluded.

These long quotations were necessary, in order to establish the starting-point of the Slavophile movement, and its anti-European aspect, manifesting itself at the very time when one section of Russian thought, and the whole of the other Slavonic peoples, were expecting 'light' from the West alone.

The word 'Slavophile' itself, to designate this specific form of Russian nationalism, was originally a derogatory nickname, given to Chichkov and his partisans, who were taxed with Obscurantism. In fashionable society, it was always to have an unpleasant ring about it. When Dostoievsky makes the hero of his novel, *The Idiot*, enter a drawing-room, people excuse his strange behaviour by saying, 'He's a Slavophile, or something very like it, but not a dangerous case'.

This movement did not monopolise all the appeals to collaboration among Slavs. There existed a counterpart, of opposite and revolutionary tendency. In the Polish section of the Congress of 1848, Bakunin had denounced the illusions fostered by Tsarist propaganda. 'I have no doubt they anticipate the time, in a distant, very far distant future, when all the Slavonic peoples will form part of the Russian Empire. Before that happens, all the Slavonic peoples will have fallen into decrepitude. . . . Without Russia, Slavonic unity is incomplete; without her, Slavonic strength is non-existent. But it would be madness to expect help for the Slavs and their salvation from contemporary Russia. . . . Be the liberators of the Russian people